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Migration Paradigm Shifts and
Transformation of Migrant Communities:
The Case of Dutch Kiwis

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Non-Technical Abstract

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Keywords: globalisation, push and pull factors of migration, ageing of migrant communities, migrant integration, cohort analysis

JEL Classification: F22, J61, Z13

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1 Introduction

Although the Dutchman Abel Tasman and his crew were the first Europeans to sight Aotearoa New Zealand, for a century since European colonialization and the Treaty of Waitangi in 1840, the number of Dutch residing in New Zealand remained only just over 100 (Schouten, 1992). Subsequently, sponsored by the Dutch government, a wave of migration from The Netherlands to New Zealand took place during the 1950s and early 1960s. Many of these Dutch migrants took up employment in trades, manufacturing and farming and are often considered “invisible” immigrants because of their rapid integration into New Zealand society. They became “Dutch Kiwis” who were often only recognised by their accent. Although Dutch cultural clubs were established throughout the country, many did not belong to such clubs (e.g. Jasperse, 2009). The post-war wave of Dutch migrants was followed by much smaller inflows, and significant return migration, when Dutch prosperity accelerated relative to New Zealand prosperity. In recent years, Dutch emigration has been increasing again generally (Statistics Netherlands, 2011), but also to New Zealand. The new migrants have very different characteristics and aspirations from earlier migrant cohorts (Van Dalen and Henkens, 2007). Many are professionals in search of a higher non-material quality of life, but they maintain multiple ties with people and institutions in The Netherlands and elsewhere while living abroad. While the smaller inflows following the post-World War II migration wave has led to significant numerical and structural ageing of the Dutch migrant community in New Zealand, the new influx of recent years is leading to a further transformation of this community.

We estimate that about 116,700 people in New Zealand may be considered to belong to the Dutch community, broadly defined. This is elaborated in Section 3. Approximately 22,000 of these people are Netherlands-born immigrants, and 40% of those are now aged 65 and over, compared with 12% for the entire New Zealand population (Statistics New Zealand, 2007). Of the New Zealand population aged 65 years and over, the Dutch remain at present the largest group from a non-English speaking country (Statistics New Zealand, 2007).³

³ At the time of the 2006 census, the Netherlands-born usually resident population aged 65 years and over was 9,027, which is about 40% of the total Netherlands-born population. They represented 7% of the total overseas-born population aged 65 years and over. It should be noted that among migrants from an English-speaking background, 10,305 Scottish born were aged 65 years and over (representing 8% of the total overseas-born population aged 65 years and over). Structural ageing of the Scots in New

This paper examines the dynamics of Dutch community change in New Zealand during the last six decades. Van Dalen and Henkens (2007) focussed on the emigrations intentions of the Dutch population and related this to various individual characteristics of migrants and the institutional environment in The Netherlands. Essentially, this paper complements this previous research by focussing on Dutch migration from a specific host country perspective, namely from the perspective of New Zealand.⁴

While much has already been written on Dutch immigrants in New Zealand (see for example the bibliography by Stassen 2001), the literature takes predominantly a qualitative or ethnographic perspective. Here we take a quantitative demographic and socio-economic perspective. Prior research on the characteristics of Dutch immigrants has commonly focussed on the distinctions between Dutch migrants and the New Zealand-born population, effectively treating Dutch migrants as one homogenous group. However, we find that there are three distinct cohorts of migrants from the Netherlands to New Zealand, each covering roughly 20 years of arrivals: post-war migrants (those who arrived in the 1950s and 1960s), skilled migrants (those who arrived in the 1970s and 1980s), and transnational professionals (those who arrived in the 1990s and 2000s). With the exception of two doctoral papers – de Bres (2004) who compared the language maintenance of Dutch immigrants across different time periods of arrival and Webster (2007) who compared the maintenance of Dutch identity by six Dutch families – studies on Dutch migration have focused on either Dutch migrants from one specific arrival period (particularly the 1950s: e.g., Schouten, 1992) or the total Dutch migrant community (Thomson, 1967; 1970). The migration waves that we identify here allow us to link these arrival cohorts to major paradigm shifts that have taken place in international migration globally since the end of World

Zealand is similar to that of the Dutch, with in both cases about 40 percent of the migrant population being aged 65 and over.

⁴ It should be noted that while New Zealand was historically a popular destination of Dutch emigrants, the country does not rank among the 10 most popular destinations in recent years. In 2009 they were (in descending order): Germany, Belgium, Netherlands Antilles and Aruba, Spain, United States, United Kingdom, France, Australia, Switzerland and Canada (Statistics Netherlands, 2010). Emigration to Germany was estimated to have been in 2009 around 4,600; to Australia 1,000 and to New Zealand 200 (Statistics Netherlands 2010; NZ Department of Labour, unpublished). These numbers exclude temporary migrants. With respect to New Zealand, we estimate the number of temporary migrants from The Netherlands arriving on student or work permits to be around ten times the number of new Dutch settlers.

War II (see e.g. Massey et al., 1998; Poot et al., 2008; Castles and Miller, 2009). We can therefore describe the transformation of the Dutch community in New Zealand in the context of these global changes.

The next section reviews the history of Dutch migration to New Zealand. Section 3 focuses on enumeration of the Dutch community in New Zealand, specifically with respect to birthplace, ancestry, citizenship, ethnicity and language. Section 4 provides a comparison of the social-demographic characteristics and outcomes of three distinct arrival cohorts of Dutch migrants. The final section concludes and provides some suggestions for further research.

2 The History of Dutch Migration to New Zealand

Most of the quarter-million people who left the Netherlands between 1846 and 1930 headed westwards, mainly to the United States (Hofstede, 1964:13). This *industrial period of emigration* originated from the economic development of Europe and the spread of industrialisation to former colonies in the New World (Hatton and Williamson, 1994). Only a few Dutch settled in New Zealand before the middle of the 19th century. Some had professions associated with the sea, or were drawn to the colony by the 1860s gold rushes (Schouten, 1992). In the 1874 census, only 127 of the recorded 300,000 settlers were born in The Netherlands, of which 112 were men and 15 were women.

Even so, several of the early settlers of Dutch origin became nationally and internationally well known New Zealanders. They include the landscape painter Petrus van der Velden, and gold seeker and later Prime Minister Sir Julius Vogel, who had a Dutch father (Schouten, 1992). Others, like Wellington's first rabbi Herman van Staveren, made their mark at the community level. Gerrit van Asch arrived in Christchurch in 1880 and set up the world's first fully government-funded school for the deaf. Journalist Hedda Dyson came to New Zealand from the Dutch East Indies in the late 1920s, and married a New Zealander. In 1932 she founded the *New Zealand Woman's Weekly*. And lastly, Dutch-born pianist Diny Soetermeer arrived in New Zealand in 1939 to contribute to music in Wellington. Although there had also been

other new arrivals by the 1930s, there were still only 128 Dutch-born residents in New Zealand at the end of World War II.

A small experiment with assisted migration started in 1939 when five Dutch carpenters were recruited by the New Zealand Government, with the costs borne by the Netherlands Government (Schouten, 1992: 49). From 1945 onwards, initially small groups of migrants, both from the Netherlands and from the former Dutch East Indies (now Indonesia) arrived in New Zealand (Priemus, 1997).⁵ These first groups of arrivals impressed employers, setting the scene for much larger inflows.

In 1950 the New Zealand government approached the Netherlands government, asking whether 2,000 skilled migrants could be recruited (Schouten, 1992: 56). Particularly carpenters, skilled labourers, and farm and domestic workers were needed. The need for workers was immediate and even before the immigration agreement was signed in October 1950, 55 Dutch dairy workers had already been selected (Schouten, 1992: 56). New Zealand did initially have a preference for single migrants, who were expected to assimilate faster.

The peak years of arrival were between July 1951 and June 1954 (see Figure 1). During this period, an aggregate intake of more than 10,000 (10,583) settlers was recorded (Thomson, 1970). According to Priemus (1997) candidates faced strict selection processes whereby the New Zealand Assisted Passage Scheme was extended to include a limited number of Dutch citizens with special skills. Those who took part in the scheme were obligated to work in an allocated job for a minimum period of two years (Priemus, 1997). About a quarter of the post-war Dutch settlers were subsidised in this way. The door also opened in 1955 to those willing to pay their own way, as long as they had a job and a place to live (Priemus, 1997). Within a few months, Dutch migrants came in by the thousands, mainly by sea. Many of these did receive some subsidy even though few opted for the Assisted Passage Scheme. Since the late 1950s a quota system came into being that permitted migration of up to 1000 per year,

⁵ Nearly 1000 evacuees came from war-torn Indonesia in 1946 (Priemus, 1997: 7; Schouten, 1992: 52), however most returned to The Netherlands within several months. With the independence of Indonesia in 1949, New Zealand selected around 500 Dutch ex-servicemen from Indonesia for permanent settlement (Schouten, 1992: 52-53).

with settlement guaranteed by the Dutch government. With the exception of 1981 and 1982, migration remained below 1000 per year since 1962.

Figure 1 about here

The period of *post-industrial* migration during the 1950s and 1960s became a global phenomenon. The number and variety of countries sending and receiving migrants increased (Massey et al., 1998:2). The primary motives driving Dutch migration in the early 1950s were economic, political and also sociological factors which influenced young Dutch people – shattered by war, the hunger winter of 1944, and the difficult immediate post-war reconstruction period – to seek a new life elsewhere (Thomson, 1970).⁶

In general terms, and considering the whole of the modern migration era since the late 1800s, the international migrants of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century can be characterized as Europeans crossing the oceans in search of a better life, exchanging industrializing regions intensive in labour for industrializing regions intensive in land (Hatton and Williamson, 1994). This however, changed, with the development of restrictive admission policies of the destination countries, particularly since the Depression. These policies increasingly conditioned the character and volume of migration, creating different classes of migrants based on different selection criteria. Such migrants then occupy different positions in the socio-economic structure of the receiving society (Massey et al., 1998). The recruitment of Dutch migrants to the New World countries of Australia, Canada and New Zealand was by no means a signal of a global freeing up of border controls, but instead a fortuitous happenstance of a country considering itself to be "overpopulated" (with a population of 10 million in 1950, as compared with 16.7 million at present) and the concurrent presence of other countries keen to industrialise but short of the required labour.

In the New Zealand case, between 1951 and 1968, 28,366 immigrants born in Dutch territories arrived in New Zealand, and 23,879 settled according to Thomson (1970).

⁶ By 1948, one in three Dutch citizens considered to emigrate from the Netherlands (Priemus, 1997: 8).

Almost half of all migrants from outside the Commonwealth were Dutch, making them by far the biggest single group of non-British immigrants to New Zealand at that time. In terms of the policy objectives at the time, Dutch migration to New Zealand during the 1950s and early 1960s may be considered to have been highly successful, with the vast majority of arrivals integrating very well into New Zealand society (e.g. Thomson, 1967). However, this came at the cost of a significant loss of Dutch culture and identity among the settlers (e.g. Priemus, 1997).

The annual number of migrants dropped sharply below the annual quota of 1000 by 1963 and even further to around 400 by 1968. Since then and throughout the 1970s, the flow of migrants from the Netherlands did not cease altogether, but remained around 500 per year. The reasons for the end of the postwar Dutch migration wave were predominantly economic: the Dutch economy was doing very well in the 1960s and at the same time the “golden weather” of New Zealand postwar development was coming to an end (Gould, 1982). Another explanation for the decrease in Dutch migration in this period was that the Dutch government ceased to actively promote emigration, as unemployment and shortage of housing were no longer problems and the Netherlands was in fact starting to recruit immigrants, particularly so-called "guest workers", to fill a growing shortage of workers (Priemus, 1997).

During the early 1980s the number of migrants increased again, and exceeded 1000 in 1981 and 1982, partly due to a recession in the Netherlands, growing environmental concerns and also influenced by the threats of the Cold War associated with the 1979 Islamic Revolution in Iran, the Nicaraguan Revolution, and Soviet intervention in Afghanistan. Economic motives no longer dominated the decision to migrate. Surveys at that time showed that the early 1980s migrants tended to be middle class, highly educated and leaving the prosperous Netherlands predominantly for environmental and lifestyle reasons (Kruiter, 1981: 100). Subsequently, another temporary increase in emigration in the late 1980s was consistent with this trend and likely to have been influenced by concerns in Europe about the 1986 Chernobyl nuclear power plant disaster and New Zealand's nuclear free policy.

A new era of immigration policy emerged in the early 1990s when a points-based selection system was introduced by the National Government elected in 1990. The new system emphasised the recruitment of skilled workers and entrepreneurs. In contrast, family-related migration played a dominant role previously. In 1992, Queen Beatrix of the Netherlands visited New Zealand to commemorate the 350th birthday of Abel Tasman's voyage. Unfortunately, shortly after this visit, due to budget cuts by the Dutch government and the fact that the agreed quota had not been met for many years, the migration agreement between The Netherlands and New Zealand was terminated in March 1992 (*Trouw*, 1992). Following this, Dutch migrants were no longer a 'special group' in terms of applying for settlement in New Zealand. Applicants had to satisfy exactly the same criteria as everyone else. Various modifications to the selection criteria and the desired target flows of new residency approvals were introduced subsequently.⁷ These events together shaped the number of arrivals which after a modest peak of 599 in 1990 dropped to less than 300 per annum by 1994. Nonetheless, since the turn of the millennium the annual number has exceeded 300 in every year and reached a peak of 641 by 2005/06. At that time The Netherlands had once again become a country characterized by net emigration, but not because of economic malaise but because of concerns regarding criminality, negative attitudes of the population, congestion, pollution and increasing cultural diversity (e.g., van Dalen and Henkens, 2007).

A major change in international migration in recent decades has been the growing complexity in migration patterns and the shift from permanent settlement to temporary migration for work, study or even transnational commuting between residences by professional workers and some retired people (e.g. Poot et al. 2008). Dutch migration to New Zealand is no exception. Figure 2 shows the number of people of Dutch nationality issued a student permit and compares that with the number issued a work permit, and those granted permanent residence. It is clear that while the number of Dutch coming to study in New Zealand is small (less than 200 per year), those issued a work permit exceed those granted permanent residence for every year since 1997/98. By 2006/07, when nearly 1500 work permits were issued to Dutch nationals, work permits issued exceeded permanent residence granted by as

⁷ The changes in immigration policy between 1986 and 2007 are summarised in for example Merwood (2008).

much as threefold. The decrease that can be seen in 2006/2007 for permanent residence was probably influenced by positive economic situation in the Netherlands at that time and a decrease in interest to migrate in general. Lower labour mobility during the global economic recession is likely to have contributed to lower emigration since 2008 (not shown in the graph, but see e.g. Papademetriou et al. 2010). However the number coming on temporary permits has continued to increase.

Figure 2 about here

Of course, a temporary stay in New Zealand may be the prelude to permanent settlement. Table 1 shows the proportion of Dutch nationals who were issued a work permit between June year 1997/98 and 2003/04, who subsequently obtained permanent residence by June 2007. This varied between 28.8% for those arriving in 1997/98 and 15.1% of those arriving in 1999/00. On average it appears that more than one in six Dutch temporary workers subsequently settles in New Zealand.

Table 1 about here

The number of Netherlands born in New Zealand at any point in time is the cumulative outcome of successive year by year immigration flows, the return migration of some and in more recent years the increasing mortality of the migrants who came in the 1950s migration wave. Figure 3 shows the number of Netherlands-born population in New Zealand, as recorded by the censuses since 1874.⁸ The dramatic increase during the 1950s is very clear, followed by a levelling off during the 1970s and another period of growth during the early 1980s up to a peak of 24,486. Subsequently, the number has been slowly decreasing to 22,101 in 2006. Three quarters of the 2006 Netherlands-born population had been living in New Zealand for more than 20 years, and 84% for more than 10 years. However, after those from the United Kingdom, the Dutch are still the largest group of migrants from North-Western Europe.

Figure 3 about here

⁸ Those born in the former Dutch Colonies are not included in this figure.

Table 2 reports the twenty largest country-of-birth groups among the foreign-born population of New Zealand, ranked by size in 2006. The 1996-2006 growth is also given. In 2006, The Netherlands occupied the 9th position in terms of immigrant population size, between the Republic of Korea and Tonga. The Netherlands-born population declined by 5.7% over the 1996-2006 decade. The table also highlights the huge growth of the immigrants from many source countries, with the number of immigrants from China, India, South Africa, Fiji, South Korea, Philippines and Zimbabwe more than doubling or tripling.

Table 2 about here

In the next section we focus on the statistical profile of the Dutch who were residents of New Zealand in 2006, the most recently available data.⁹ However, it is first important to highlight how the changing immigration levels have contributed to the changing age structure of the Dutch-born population of New Zealand.

Since 1991, the number of Dutch born in NZ of “working age” declined by about one third, while the number aged 65 and over more than doubled (Figure 4). When a comparison is made between the age structure of the Dutch-born population in New Zealand and the age structure of the New Zealand-born population significant differences are found, both in the past and at present. In 1966 the Dutch-born population aged 65 and over as a percentage of the Netherlands-born population of New Zealand was 2.0% (Statistics New Zealand, 1966). By 2006 the Dutch born aged 65 and over as a percentage of the Netherlands-born population of New Zealand had risen to 40.8% (Statistics New Zealand, 2006). This is a dramatic increase, particularly when compared with the New Zealand born population. In 1966 the New Zealand born aged 65 and over were 10.1% of that population (Statistics New Zealand, 1966), increasing slightly to 11.6% by 2006 (Statistics New Zealand, 2006).

Figure 4 about here

⁹ New Zealand has a five-yearly population census. The Census that was to be held on Tuesday 8 March 2011 was cancelled due to the nationwide consequences of the large and devastating earthquake in Christchurch on Tuesday 22 February 2011. The date of the next Census has yet to be decided.

3. Enumeration of the Dutch Community

The Dutch community in New Zealand not only refers to the Dutch-born migrants but also to their descendants and others who identify with the Dutch ethnicity, such as spouses of Dutch-born migrants. In this respect ethnic identity refers to a communal and individual identity expressed as an idea of ‘our people, our origins’ which varies in the intensity with which it is felt and expressed (Fenton, 2003).

The extent to which someone belongs to the Dutch community can be defined according to birthplace, citizenship, ancestry, ethnicity or language. Currently there are no definitive estimates of how many people of Dutch descent live in New Zealand. Different estimates of the size of the Dutch community have been made over time based on 1st, 2nd and 3rd generation ancestry estimates. Several are reported in Table 3. The 1st generation is enumerated every five years in the population census. For the 2nd generation one could use until 1978 vital statistics that included the number of registered births with one or both parents born in The Netherlands. This, combined with the 1976 census data, suggested that the first generation around 1978 was about 22,000 and the second generation 28,000 (taking into account mortality and emigration). The third generation at that time would have been still rather small as the second generation had not yet reached peak child bearing ages. By 1994, Poot estimated that there were 67,000 people of Dutch descent, when restricting this to the 1st and 2nd generation only. This number included those born in the former Dutch Indies. The second generation was estimated by means of a second to first generation ancestry ratio that applied to the Dutch-born population in Australia (which includes an ancestry question in the census). Including New Zealand-born partners of the 1st generation, Poot (1994) estimated the Dutch community at that time was about 70,000. In 1997, Priemus estimated the 3rd generation at that time to be around 40,000. This yields a total for three generations combined (and including the first generation born in the former Dutch East Indies) of 105,000. Priemus (1997) estimated that if the non-Dutch partners of the 1st and 2nd generation were also included the estimate of the size of the Dutch community would increase further to 130,000. Jasperse (2009) updated this estimate to 150,000.

However, these estimates do not take emigration into account. According to Priemus (1997) of the 41,000 who immigrated between 1945 and 1997, about 25,000 were living in New Zealand in 1997, and around 3,000 were deceased. This would suggest that around one third re-migrated, which coincides with other studies. If we update the estimate made by Priemus, account for emigration and deaths since the 2006 census and include an extra 30% for non-Dutch partners of the 1st and 2nd generation, we obtain a current estimate of 116,700. This would mean that about 2.7% of the New Zealand population belongs to the Dutch community. It should be noted that the 3rd generation is now complete, with the 4th generation emerging.

Table 3 about here

Being part of the Dutch community can also be defined by means of citizenship. Unfortunately there are no data available on citizenship in the New Zealand Census. The Australian Census shows that around 75% of Netherlands-born residents have the Australian citizenship (Australia Bureau of Statistics, 2009-10). As in most countries, naturalisation is voluntary in Australia. However, migrants are actively encouraged to apply for citizenship, which gives them the right to vote, apply for public office, and hold an Australian passport (Australia Bureau of Statistics, 2009-10).

Under the assimilation programme of the New Zealand Government in the 1950s, Dutch immigrants were initially also encouraged to become naturalised (Schouten, 1992). However, resistance developed towards the provisions in New Zealand's naturalisation law at the time whereby naturalised citizens could become stateless under certain circumstances and therefore were in a sense relegated to be second-class New Zealanders (Schouten, 1992). In the 1970s when around 20,000 Netherlands-born residents qualified to become New Zealand citizens, there were 13,600 Netherlands-born residents on the register of aliens (Schouten, 1992: 76). This suggests that, in contrast to Australia, Netherlands-born residents in New Zealand have retained their Dutch citizenship to a much larger extent.

Schouten noted that "Dutch descent does not necessarily mean Dutch identity" (1992: 257). At the time of the 2006 census there were close to 29,000 people in New Zealand who identified themselves with the Dutch ethnicity (Statistics New Zealand,

2006). There was a small rise of 1,134 in people identifying with Dutch ethnicity between 2001 and 2006.¹⁰ Interestingly, in the census of 1996 almost 48,000 identified themselves with the Dutch ethnicity. In that census the question on ethnicity included 'Dutch' as a separate box that could be ticked. Since then, the form design has been changed and 'Dutch' is only mentioned as an example that respondents can write in a box for 'Other ethnic groups'.¹¹ In the Australian Census a self-reported ancestry question is included whereby people are asked to consider their ancestry back as far as two generations (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2007). In 2006, the number of Australian people who reported Dutch ancestry was four times the Dutch-born population (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2007).¹² If we use that ratio to the 2006 census data, we would expect about 88,000 people in New Zealand to acknowledge Dutch ancestry.

Looking at the relationship between identifying with the Dutch ethnicity and birthplace, the 2006 Census shows that 60% of those acknowledging Dutch ethnicity were born in the Netherlands; while 33% were born in New Zealand, 2% in the Former Dutch Colonies and 5% in Other Countries (Figure 5).

Figure 5 about here

The relationship between identifying with Dutch ethnicity and place of birth is also impacted by age (Figure 6). Clearly the young people who identify with the Dutch ethnicity were predominantly born in New Zealand. Conversely, there are still very few second generation Dutch who have already reached retirement age. Births with one or both parents being Dutch peaked in 1961 (2000 births) (Statistics New Zealand, 1961). These people are now around 50 years old. Dutch people born in the Dutch colonies were also born between the 1930s and the 1950s.

¹⁰ Census 2001: 27,507; Census 2006: 28,641

¹¹ Within the Australian Census a similar phenomenon has been observed for Scottish ancestry after changes were made in the form design between 2001 and 2006. Scottish was included as a tick-mark response in the 2006 Census but not in the 2001 Census. Consequently, there was a significant increase (almost triple) in the number of responses for Scottish ancestry in the 2006 Census compared to the 2001 Census (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2007).

¹² 310,089 people resident in Australia claimed Dutch ancestry in 2006, and 78,927 were born in the Netherlands.

Figure 6 about here

Alongside birthplace and ethnic identity, language also plays an important part in identifying with and giving meaning to descent and culture of a community. In this respect language has been found to be one of the most common ways in which ethnicity is mobilised as a way to protect and advance a culture (Fenton, 2003).

The number of people who can have a conversation in Dutch on everyday things had been declining between 1996 and 2001, but there has been a slight recovery between 2001 and 2006 (Table 4).¹³ Although the majority of those who could speak Dutch in the 2006 Census were Netherlands born (65%), there was also a reasonable proportion who were New Zealand born (23%) (not shown in the Table).¹⁴ This suggests that there is an intergenerational transfer of the Dutch language to the 2nd generation. In a study on language maintenance of three generations of Dutch migrants in New Zealand, Hulsen, de Bot and Weltens (2002) indicate that the number of first language contacts in the social network both in the country of origin as the host country plays an important role in language maintenance. On the other hand, not all those who were born in The Netherlands maintained the ability to speak Dutch after migrating to New Zealand. Data from the 2006 census suggest that around 80% of New Zealand residents born in The Netherlands can speak Dutch. Some of the others would have migrated as small children who were educated at home and in school in English, but others may have lost the ability to speak Dutch in their endeavour to fully assimilate in New Zealand society (Bakker and Humblet, 1999).

Table 4 about here

Figure 7 shows the age structure of persons speaking Dutch in 1996 and 2006. People who can speak Dutch are predominantly aged 65 years and over. There has also been a numerical increase in this group. The number of New Zealand residents who can speak Dutch between the ages of 15 and 39 years has declined between 1996 and

¹³ 384 census respondents in 2006 reported speaking the Friesian language. This is formally a separate language rather than a dialect of Dutch. It is spoken primarily, but not exclusively, in the province of Friesland.

¹⁴ A further 3% who could speak Dutch were born in the Former Dutch Colonies and 10% were born in other countries.

2006, but among the 0-14 year olds there was an increase, reflecting net migration from The Netherlands over this period.

Furthermore, in 1996 the second-largest Dutch-speaking age group was 30-39 years, but this shifted to the 40-49 years group by 2006. These are clearly the same people (cohort), who aged ten years between 1996 and 2006. The cohort effect is also clear from comparing the 40-49 year olds in 1996 with the 50-59 year olds in 2006. These age groups are not much affected by migration or mortality.

Figure 7 about here

4. Three Cohorts: A Typology

The dynamics of “Dutch Kiwi” community development since the 1950s can be explored through the examination of three very distinct cohorts, each covering roughly 20 years of arrivals: post-war migrants (those who arrived in the 1950s and 1960s), skilled migrants (those who arrived in the 1970s and 1980s), and transnational professionals (those who arrived in the 1990s or more recently). This will be demonstrated in what follows by means of a description of the social-demographic characteristics and outcomes of the three different cohorts, focussing on: age at arrival, number of children, religion, education, income, occupation, level of urbanisation and geographical distribution.

Dutch Kiwis are defined in this context as those born outside New Zealand who declared Dutch ethnicity in the 2006 census. For simplicity, and due to constraints in deriving census tabulations, the benchmark for those who identify with the Dutch ethnicity is all other ethnicities combined. Due to the years in which censuses were held and the most recent census being 2006, the cohorts are formally defined by year of first arrival in New Zealand 1947-1966, 1967-1986 and 1987-2006. The differences and similarities that are discussed between the arrival cohorts can be attributed to age, period and cohort effects. However, disentangling such effects formally goes beyond the scope of this paper.

The total number of migrants with Dutch ethnicity, arriving between 1947 and 1966, counted in the 2006 census is 7,971 (see Table 5). This compares with 5,127 arriving

between 1967 and 1986. Of both cohorts, all are of course adults by 2006. Of those arriving between 1987 and 2006, a total of 5,166, 16 percent are aged between 0 and 14. The first cohort of Dutch migrants was predominantly between 20-29 years old when they arrived in New Zealand (Figure 8). This is not surprising considering that the ordinances of the Assisted Passage Scheme targeted assistance to single persons who were in this age range. Dutch migrants were predominantly single on arrival, often marrying a Dutch partner soon after arrival, or marrying New Zealanders (Thomson, 1970).¹⁵ Most of these 1947-1966 arrivals, surviving until now, are aged in their 70s and 80s. Comparing the 1947-1966 cohort of Dutch migrants with migrants of other ethnic groups clearly shows that Dutch immigration was considerably more selective of age than other immigration. More recent cohorts of Dutch migrants are on average older on arrival and therefore more likely to arrive as families with young children. This finding is confirmed by Van Dalen and Henkens (2008:20) who found that between 1960 and 2006 the number of Dutch emigrants aged 30-49 years was larger in comparison to those aged 20-29 years, and this therefore suggests that a rise in the average age at the time of migration has taken place. For the most recent arrival cohort, 1987-2006, there is also a noticeable difference in the age distribution. Among the Dutch immigrants, teenagers are clearly underrepresented. This is not the case among migrants of other ethnicities. The mean age in 2006 of those in the 1947-1966 arrival cohort of Dutch migrants was 70.5, compared with a mean age of 65.7 for this arrival cohort of other ethnicities (see Table 5). The mean age in 2006 of the “skilled migrant cohort” (arriving 1967-1986) is about 50, the same for Dutch and other ethnicities. The ‘transnational professionals’ are younger, with an average age of 35.1 among the Dutch and 32.5 among the other ethnicities.

Table 5 about here

Figure 8 about here

Only a small percentage (6.1%) of the 1947-1966 cohort of women, the post-war migrants, have remained childless (see Table 5). For the skilled migrants of the 1970s

¹⁵ According to Thomson (1970) 25.6% of Dutch males and 45% of Dutch females married in the twelve month period preceding migration, or within a year after arrival. By 1964, 25.3% Dutch males and 8.3% of Dutch females married New Zealanders or other persons of British birth (Thomson, 1970).

and 1980s this percentage is higher (17.0%) and for the more recent migrants even higher still (37.8%), although for this last group we need to take into account that child bearing has not yet been completed. For all three cohorts, childlessness is more prevalent among migrant women of other ethnicities. Conversely, post-war Dutch migrant women are clearly characterised by having large families with more than a third having four or more children in comparison to only one-fifth of migrant women from other ethnicities. The transnational professionals (arriving 1987-2006) also have larger families than migrants of other ethnicities. However, the cohort of Dutch skilled migrants (arriving 1967-1986) have smaller families, reflected in only 13.4% of women having four or more children, compared with 15.9% among the other ethnicities.

The fact that the post-war Dutch migrants had larger families may reflect their religious background in that almost 40% of post-war Dutch migrants were Catholic. (to save space, data on religion are not shown in Table 5, except the percentage with no religion). Most of the post-war Dutch migrants were born and brought up in a sectarian society and often their migration to New Zealand was supported by church-run immigration organisations (Schouten, 1992: 161). Interestingly, among the religious groups, the percentage of Catholics declined across the arrival cohorts from 38% to 20% while the Protestant faith remained stable at around 15%. The results suggest that the secularisation of the Dutch society (which is stronger than in New Zealand) has been exported through this post-war migrant cohort. However, the secularisation of Dutch society can also clearly be seen by the sharp increase in the proportion of people with no religion across the arrival cohorts (Table 5). The Dutch migrants have always been more secular than other ethnicities, but among the latter the percentage who do not proclaim to have a religion increased from 20.3% for the 1947-1966 arrival cohort to 27.3% for the 1987-2006 cohort, compared with 22.7% and 46.8% respectively for the Dutch Kiwis.

Looking at the educational level of the three cohorts, the 2006 census data show that each successive arrival cohort is much better educated (Table 5). Moreover, even in the first cohort, about one third had post-school education. Interestingly, the percentage with a tertiary qualification among Dutch post-war migrants was lower than among other ethnicities, but this reversed for the skilled migrant and

transnational migrant cohorts. When comparing the educational level of Dutch migrants in New Zealand and Australia in the 1970s, Kruiter (1981) showed that at that time Dutch migrants in New Zealand were on average higher educated than Dutch migrants in Australia.

When we compare the median income level of those of the Dutch ethnicity and migrants of other ethnicities in New Zealand, we should take account of differences in labour force participation and hours worked. For this purpose, the data were restricted to those in receipt of annual income of more than \$10,000. For those aged over 65, this income would consist of the universal pension (New Zealand superannuation) available to all those who resided in New Zealand for 10 years or longer at age 65, plus any income derived from work or assets. All those who arrived between 1947 and 1966, except a small number who arrived as small children, were aged over 65 in 2006 and therefore in receipt of New Zealand superannuation. At the time they would have received \$16,647 superannuation (before tax) when living alone or \$12,639 when living with a partner who also qualified.¹⁶ Table 5 shows that the median income of the post-war arrival cohort was \$18,100 in 2006. This implies that most of the income of this cohort consisted of New Zealand superannuation. The additional income of a few thousand dollars would have been a mixture of income for continued (part-time) employment or from assets.

The main unrecorded source of income is imputed rent associated with living in an owner-occupied dwelling without a mortgage. 2006 census data show that more than three quarters of the population aged 65 and over owned their home, although the trend is downward (see e.g. Cochrane and Poot, 2007). In this context it should be noted that Dutch migrants are increasingly less urbanized than other ethnic groups. Table 5 shows that of the 1947-1966 cohort, 12.0% of the Dutch migrants live in a rural area, compared with 10.5% of Other migrants. Among the most recent arrivals,

¹⁶ Dutch people receive a state pension from age 65 based on every year they have lived or worked in the Netherlands since age 15. For those living in New Zealand, their entitlement is passed on by the Netherlands Government to the New Zealand Government and payment is made at New Zealand rates (see e.g. Jasperse, 2009: 90-97). As the Dutch pension is somewhat more generous and the number of New Zealanders in The Netherlands is much less than vice versa, there is a net financial benefit of this arrangement for the New Zealand Government. Some groups among the Dutch Kiwi community have petitioned the NZ Government to pass on these “savings” either to the individuals concerned or to the Dutch community. To date, such petitioning has not been successful.

the 1987-2006 cohort, more than a quarter of the Dutch migrant live in rural areas, compared with only 5.6% of Other migrants. This is clear evidence of the recent Dutch migrants being “lifestyle migrants” in search of quality of life associated with rural living, or being employed in the primary sector or tourism.

Hartog and Winkelmann (2003) conclude that although the lifetime earnings of the Dutch migrants who migrated in the 1950s were in real terms 25% lower than they might have anticipated in 1950, over the life course their lifetime earnings were 75% higher in New Zealand than among their siblings in The Netherlands. Nonetheless, the median income of the retired post-war cohort of migrants of other ethnicities is rather higher than that of the Dutch: \$22,700 versus \$18,100. However, for those under 65, the census data show that the employed Dutch earn somewhat more than other migrants. The 1967-1986 arrival cohort of Dutch migrants earned \$35,100 in comparison to \$33,500 for all other ethnic groups, while the 1987-2006 Dutch arrivals earned \$37,200 in comparison to \$33,100 for all other ethnic groups. Since there is for specific arrival cohorts relatively little difference in mean age, the difference in income between the Dutch cohorts of skilled migrants and transnational professionals versus the corresponding Other ethnic groups is primarily due to the former being better educated on average (see Table 5).

To gain insight into the occupational composition of the Dutch migrant population, the 2006 percentage distribution of employment across occupational groups is shown in Table 6 for the Netherlands born, the New Zealand born and those born in other countries. Both Dutch migrants and those born in other countries had a higher percentage of professional workers than the New Zealand born. The Dutch were also relatively well-represented among agriculture and fishery workers, consistent with their previously noted relatively high presence in rural areas. Using the 1981 Census, Zodgekar (1986) also found a higher percentage of Dutch migrants working in the primary sector compared to New Zealand born and Other ethnicities. The results also confirm that there are specific types of employment which the Dutch migrants will be less likely to be working in, such as: clerks, plant and machine operators, and labourers. This last finding may reflect to a large extent the points-based selection system in which a larger proportion of Dutch migrants than of Other migrants were

recruited as skilled workers and entrepreneurs, with fewer being admitted under family reunion rules that tend to be the admission criteria for low skilled migrants.

Table 6 about here

Looking at the occupational composition across the three arrival cohorts, the results show a number of interesting differences when comparing those of Netherlands ethnicity and those of Other ethnicity (Table 7). Generally, the proportion of professionals has been increasing in successive cohorts. Among the Dutch skilled migrants (1967-1986) and Dutch transnational professionals (1987-2006) arrival cohorts, the percentage of Dutch migrants who work as legislators, administrators, managers, and professionals is greater than for migrants of other ethnicities arriving at those times, but this is not the case for the post-war migrants, who are more in semi-skilled occupations rather than high-skilled occupations. Particularly the percentage of trades workers arriving during the 1947-1966 period is high (12.0%, compared with 7.8% for the Other ethnicities). Nonetheless, it is clear that at all times Dutch migration had a smaller proportion of unskilled migrants (plant and machine operators, labourers etc.) than Other migrants. In contrast, the Dutch are much more likely to be agriculture and fishery workers. The difference is particularly large for the most recent arrival cohort (1987-2006): 13.0% versus 2.8%. The majority of these Dutch workers in the primary sector are probably self-employed farmers (see also Zodgekar, 1986). Across each arrival cohort, the percentage of Dutch migrants working as trades workers declines and becomes closer to that of the migrants of Other ethnicities.

Table 7 about here

Generally, the older Dutch are highly urbanised (see Table 5), despite a relatively large proportion starting working life on farms in New Zealand (Thomson, 1970). Possibly a high degree of urbanisation for this older generation of migrants is important for access to specialised health and residential care. On arrival, many of the first cohort of Dutch migrants were directed to suitable employment in various parts of the country under a bonding scheme that required them to work for employers they were assigned to for a period of two years (Thomson, 1970). As a direct consequence of this policy that promoted geographical dispersal, the Dutch migrants were spread

throughout the country in a pattern similar to the distribution of the total population. Moreover, the residential stability of Dutch migrants was high. In 1964 almost half of the Dutch migrants had not moved from the place they had settled on arrival, and the other half had lived in only two or three localities (Thomson, 1970). As noted earlier, the more recent cohorts more often live in rural areas, coinciding with their life-style motives for leaving their country of origin (Kruiter, 1981; van Dalen and Henkens, 2008).

Generally, immigrants are more spatially concentrated than the New Zealand-born population because they are more urbanised (Poot et al., 1988) but, as noted above, the 1950s Dutch migrants were spread throughout the country in a pattern similar to the distribution of the New Zealand population (Poot et al., 1988; Thomson, 1970; Trlin, 1975). Using the standard Duncan and Duncan index of dissimilarity (Duncan and Duncan, 1955), i.e. the proportion of immigrants of a certain birthplace who would need to be redistributed to match the geographic distribution of the New Zealand born across statistical areas, we calculated that in 2006 13.6% of the Netherlands born would need to be redistributed across the 73 Territorial Authority (TA) regions to generate a distribution that is identical to that of the New Zealand born. In contrast, 25.1% of migrants born in countries other than the Netherlands would have to be redistributed to match the spatial distribution of the New Zealand born. Clearly, the Netherlands born are more “integrated” geographically in New Zealand than other migrants.¹⁷ The latter tend to cluster more, with many residing in the main cities and particularly in the Auckland metropolitan area. This geographical dispersion of the Dutch migrants has contributed to their high degree of assimilation (Trlin, 1975).

Figure 9 displays the geographical distribution of the three arrival cohorts (percentage in quintiles). The selected measure is the difference between the percentage of the total Dutch population of that cohort that resides in a particular Territorial Authority (TA) and the corresponding percentage of the migrants of other ethnicities. The TAs have been grouped into five quintiles. The darker the grey, the more the Dutch are

¹⁷ The 2006 results can be compared with Zodgekar’s (1986) calculations based on the 1981 census. He found a dissimilarity index for the Dutch born of 9.8% as compared with 19.1% for all overseas born. Since his calculations were based on 13 Statistical Areas rather than 73 TAs, the numbers are clearly smaller as expected, but not directly comparable.

present in a TA relative to other migrants. The relative concentration in 2006 of the post-war migrants in Dunedin, Christchurch, South Auckland, Waikato and Hawke's Bay is clear. Particularly locations with ports were noted by Thomson (1970) as having a higher proportion of the post-war settlers. In contrast, the transnational professionals (Dutch migrants arriving between 1987-2006) are disproportionately located in Southland, Christchurch, Nelson, Hawke's Bay, the Waikato, South Auckland and Northland. According to Thomson (1970) particularly the Auckland and Northland area gained an increase in population after World War II due to farm and forest development with Dutch farm labourers seizing opportunities for ownership of dairy farms. Interestingly, it has been suggested that the larger concentrations of Dutch migrants in the Nelson area are due to the publicity issued to potential migrants (Thomson, 1970). The increasing attractiveness of Northland and Southland to the recent Dutch migrants coincides with tourism and primary sector developments in these areas. Finally, there is also some stability in the patterns, which is interesting given the initial post-war policy of planned dispersal and bonded employment.

Figure 9 about here

5. Conclusion

This paper set out to explore the dynamics of Dutch community change in New Zealand during the last half century, taking a quantitative demographic and socio-economic perspective that utilises secondary data sources in New Zealand.

There has been a slow decline in the number of Dutch-born residents in New Zealand, predominantly due to ageing. However, given the post-war migrants reaching high ages, the decline is likely to accelerate in the years to come, unless immigration from The Netherlands increases substantially. Clearly, the Dutch community is undergoing a pronounced age-structural transition and, with 40% aged over 65, the Dutch are among the most aged migrant communities in New Zealand. This finding illustrates the age structural changes which are taking place within certain migrant communities after the large migration waves which took place after World War II to settler countries such as New Zealand, Australia and Canada. The

Dutch-born migrants of Australia are currently also ageing rapidly (e.g., Velthuis, 2005) and the same is undoubtedly true in Canada. An example of another migrant group within New Zealand which shows similar age structural changes are the Scottish migrants (Brooking and Coleman, 2003).

Our study clearly shows that there are different profiles of the post-war migrants (1947-66), skilled migrants (1967-86) and professional transnational migrants (since 1987) with the first cohort (the post-war migrants) mostly younger on arrival, more religious, less educated and having more children than the subsequent cohorts. In contrast with the long-run trend in both host and sending societies, the most recent cohorts of Dutch migrants in New Zealand are less urbanised. The surviving post-war Dutch migrants are now at late retirement ages, with New Zealand Superannuation the main source of income. The most recent migrants are the best qualified, with more than half having a post-school qualification. This is reflected in earnings of those still in employment which are higher than those of comparable New Zealand born.

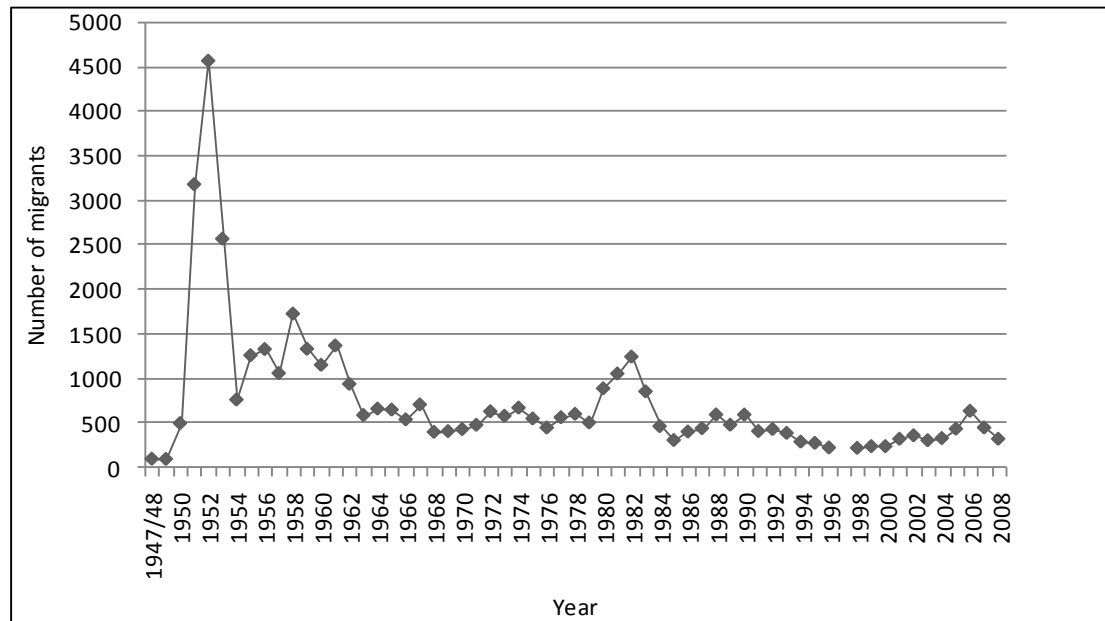
Until recently little attention has been given to the ageing of immigrant groups. Most of the Dutch migrants are now in the seventies and eighties. Their rapid assimilation into New Zealand society appears to have made them “invisible” both in terms of being migrants and also in terms of their status as an increasingly ageing community. Clearly there is a lack of representative data, with research often based on very small samples, such as Pegge’s (2006) study of 18 recent migrants and Webster’s (2007) study of 6 Dutch migrant families. Specific research topics such as health care needs of the ageing Dutch New Zealanders and the acculturation of the 2nd and 3rd generation warrant larger scale quantitative research.

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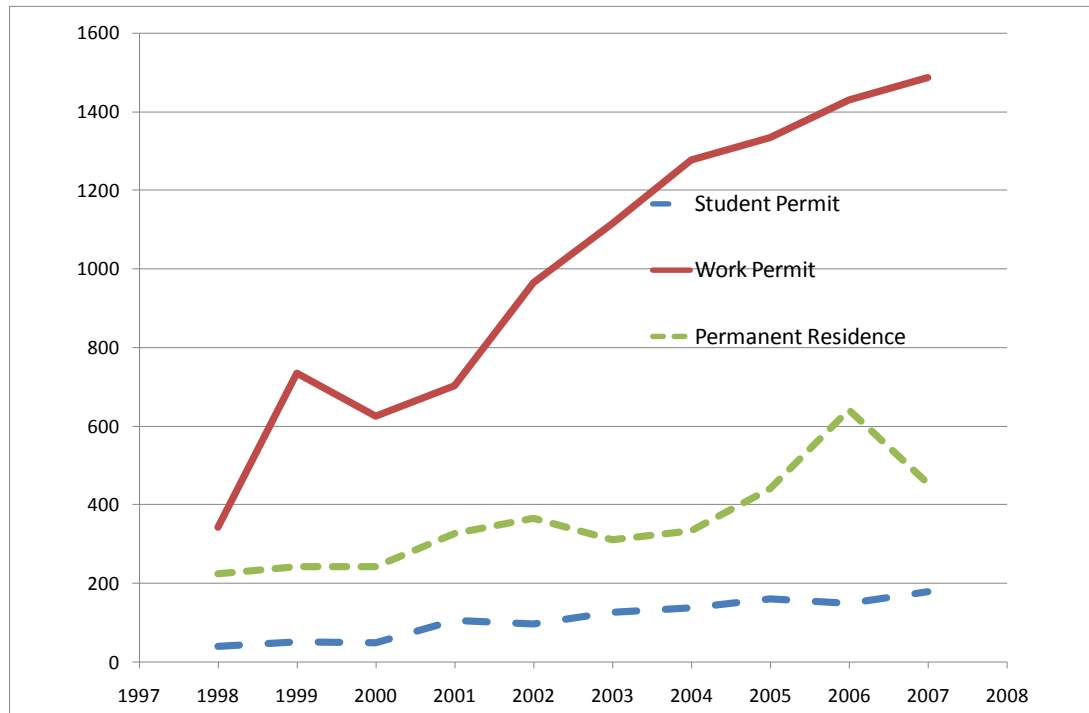
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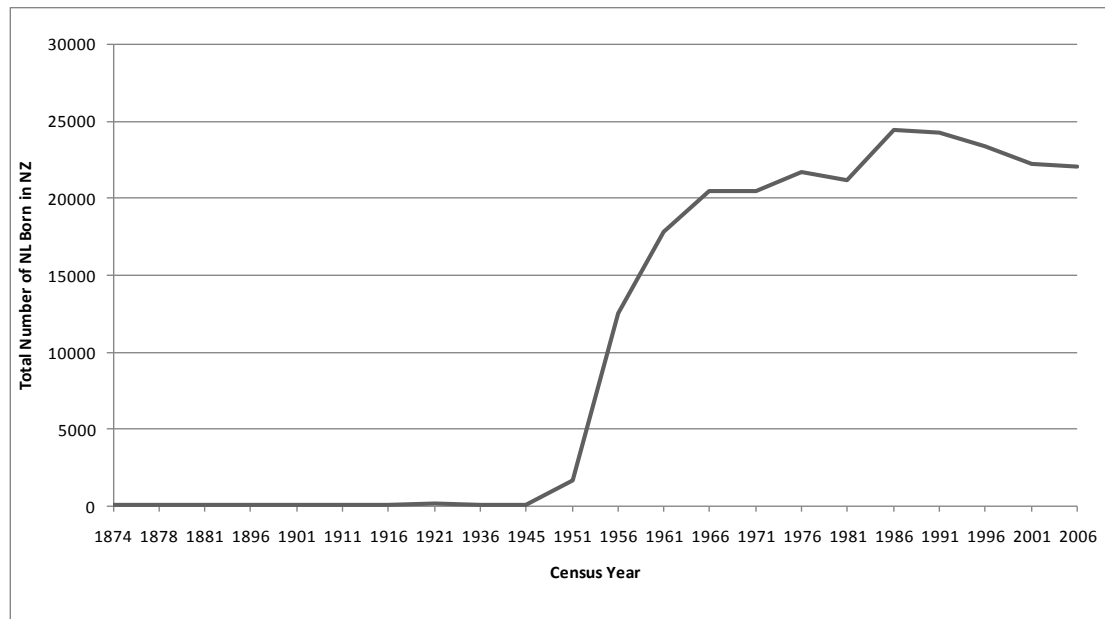
Source: Dutch Emigration Service: period 1947-1990; New Zealand Immigration Service: period 1990-1996 (Priemus, 1997); updated with unpublished data provided by the Department of Labour. The data refer to the number of persons granted permanent residency. A small fraction (estimated to be about 1 percent) did not actually settle in New Zealand.

Figure 1 Dutch migration to New Zealand, 1947-2008



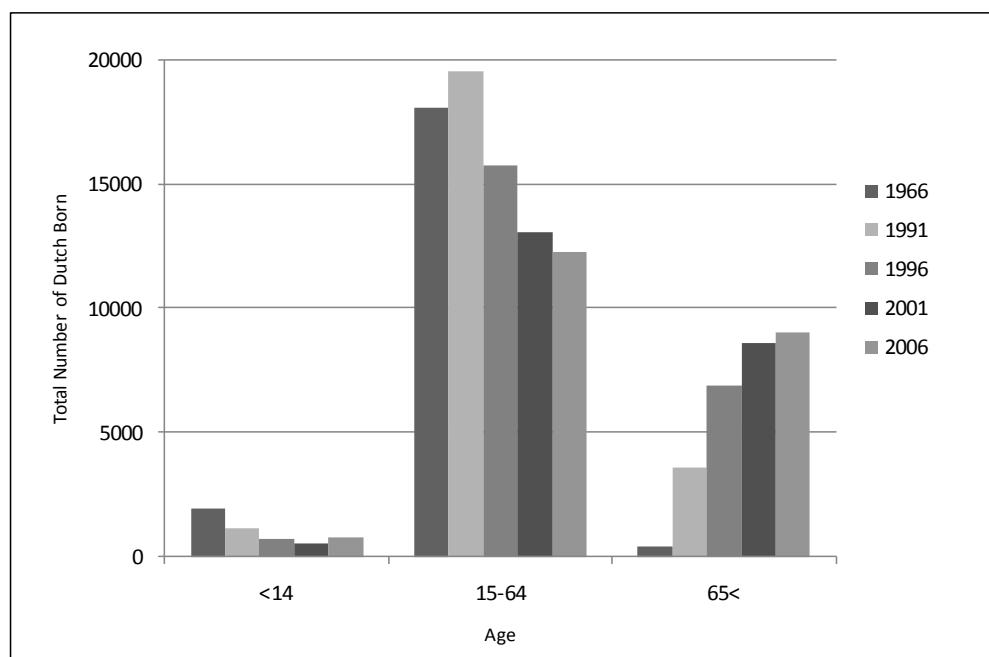
Source: Unpublished data from Department of Labour

Figure 2 New Zealand student permits, work permits and permanent residence issued to Dutch citizens, June years 1997/98 – 2006/07



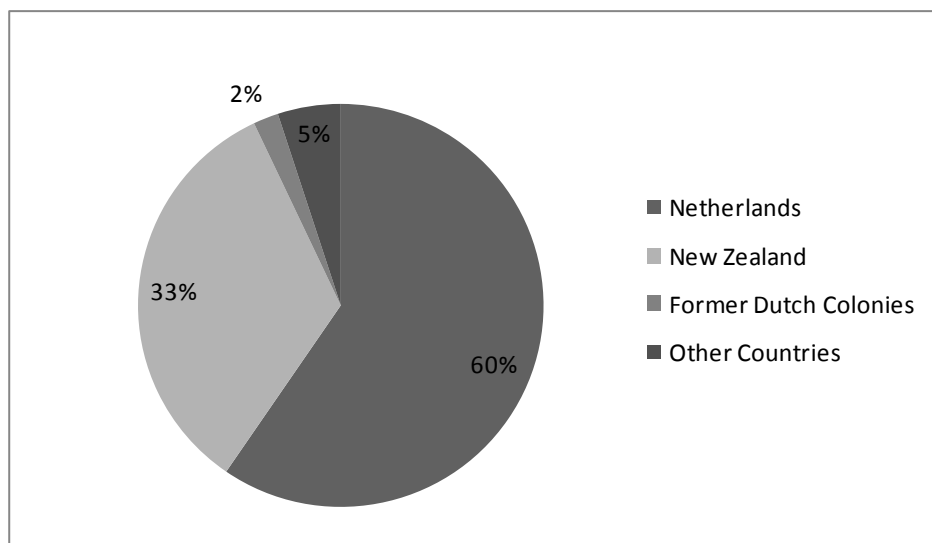
Source: Statistics New Zealand , Census of Population and Dwellings 1874-2006

Figure 3 The Netherlands-born population in New Zealand, 1874-2006



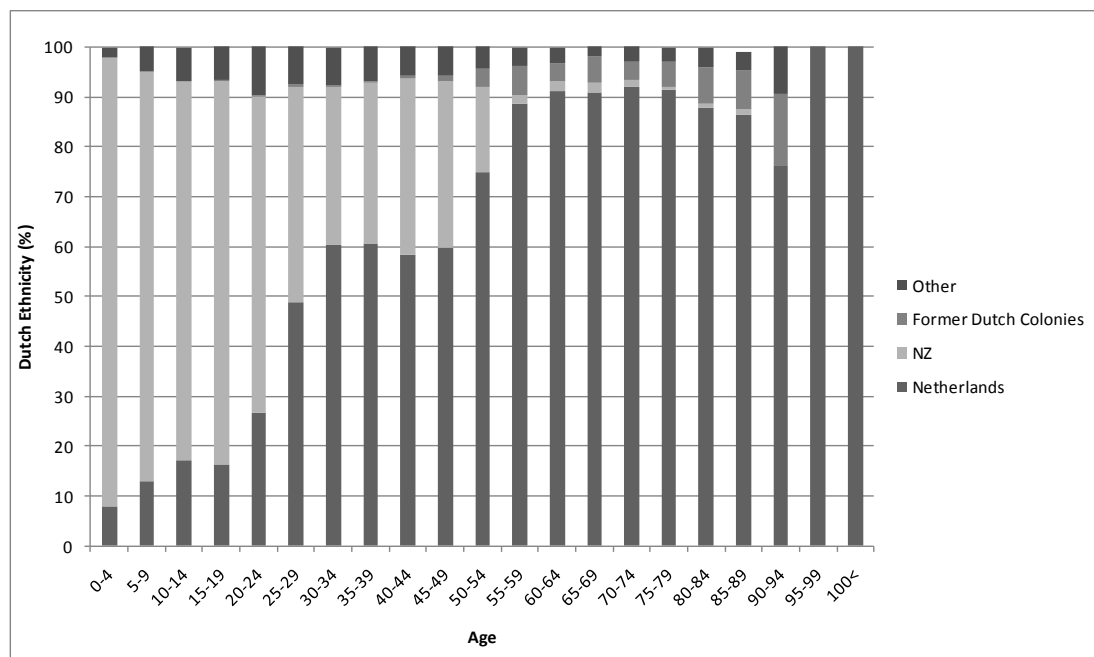
Source: Statistics New Zealand , Census of Population and Dwellings 1966-2006

Figure 4 The Netherlands-born population in New Zealand by age group, 1966-2006



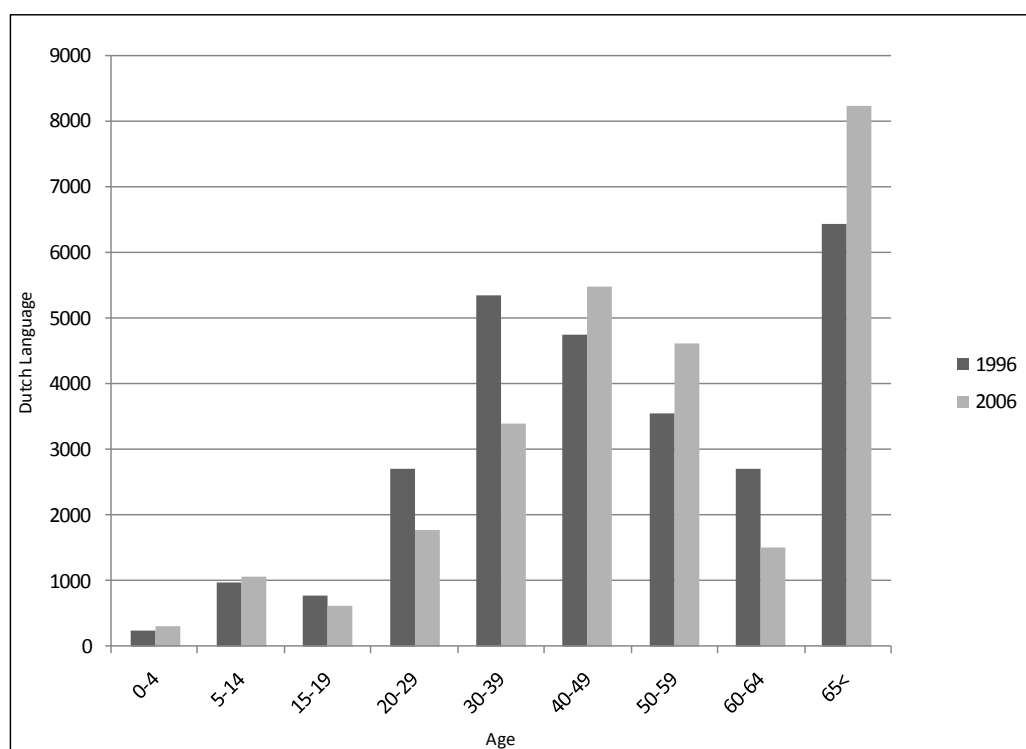
Source: Statistics New Zealand, Census of Population and Dwellings 2006

Figure 5 Dutch ethnicity by place of birth, 2006



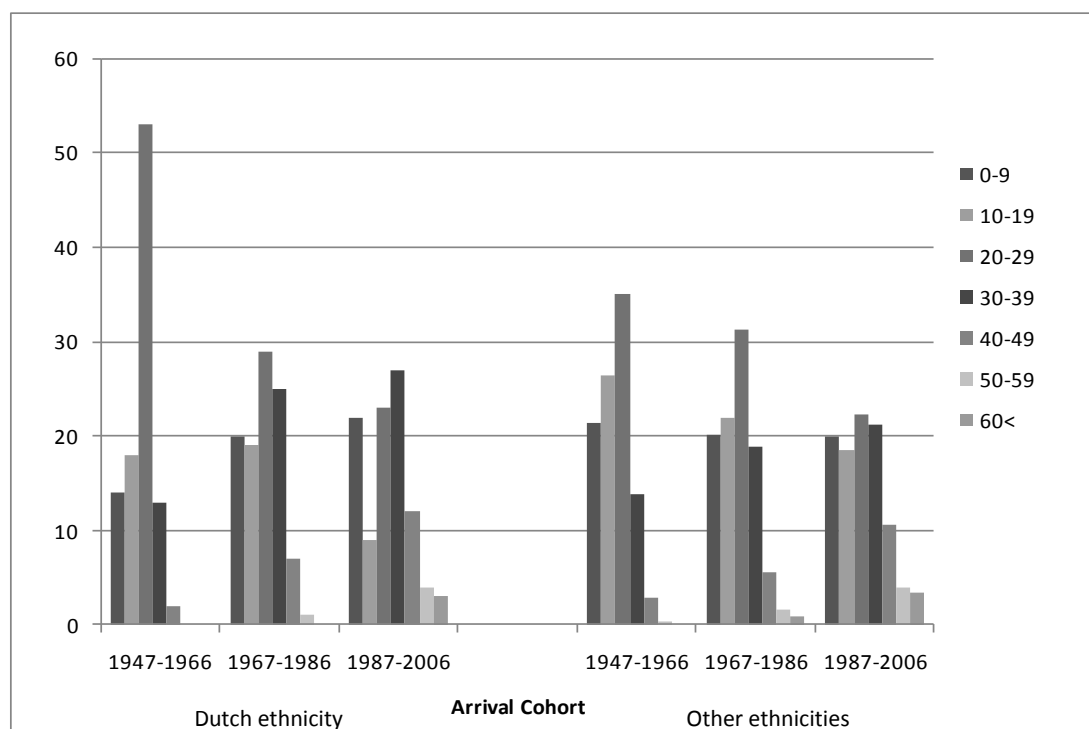
Source: Statistics New Zealand, Census of Population and Dwellings 2006

Figure 6 Dutch ethnicity and age by place of birth, 2006



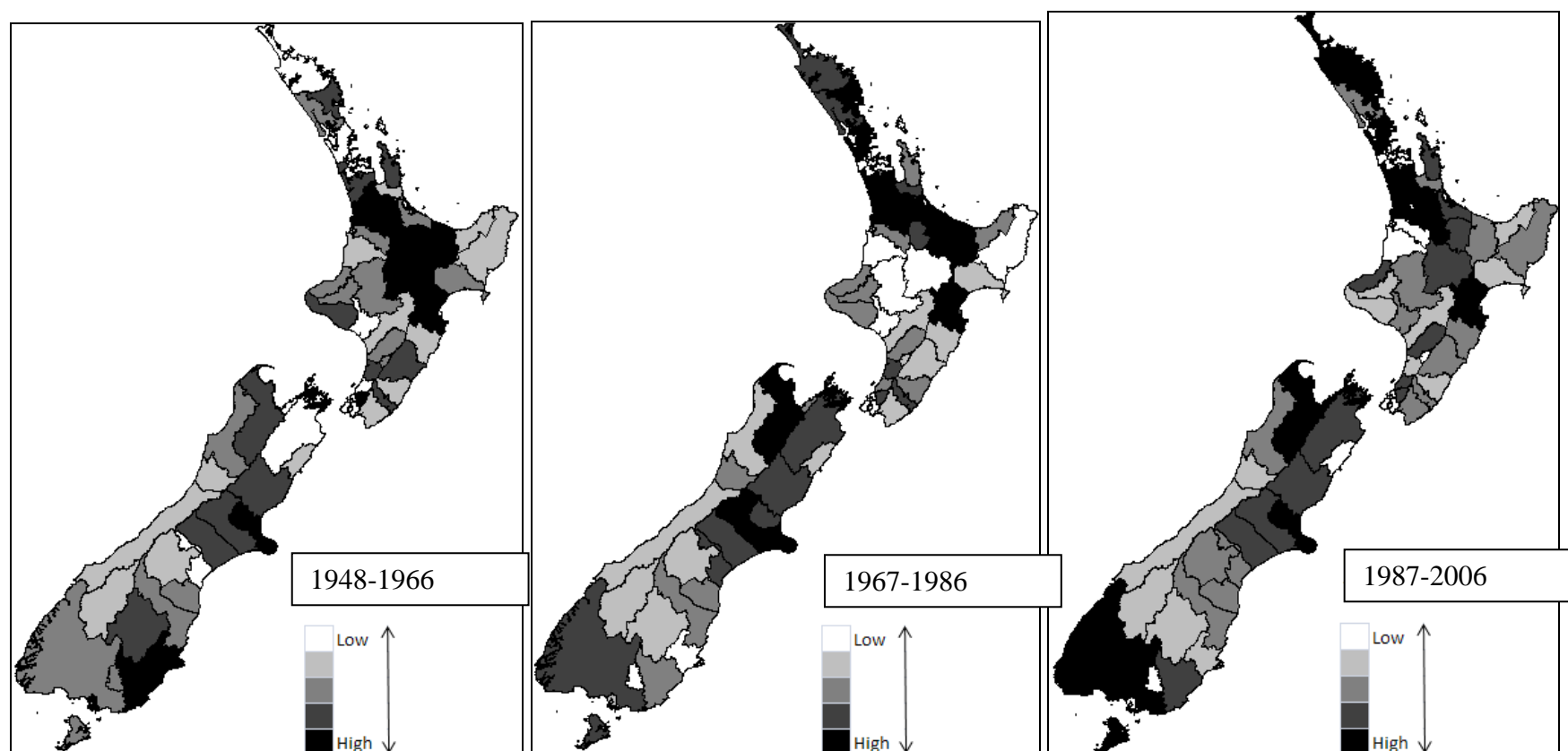
Source: Statistics New Zealand, Census of Population and Dwellings 2006

Figure 7 New Zealand residents who can speak the Dutch language by age group, 1996, 2006



Source: Statistics New Zealand, Census of Population and Dwellings 2006

Figure 8 Age at arrival (% distribution) by arrival cohort: Dutch ethnicity and other ethnicities



Source: Statistics New Zealand, Census of Population and Dwellings 2006

Figure 9 Geographic dispersion of the Dutch ethnic group relative to Other ethnic groups by territorial authority by period of arrival

Table 1 Dutch work permit holders who gained permanent residence

Financial year	Total workers	Total who gained residence as at 30 June 2007	% who gained residence
1997/98	344	99	28.8
1998/99	693	117	16.9
1999/00	557	84	15.1
2000/01	616	130	21.1
2001/02	863	150	17.4
2002/03	951	181	19.0
2003/04	1030	161	15.6

Notes: When a person was issued more than one work permit, only the first permit is included and the financial year relates to the year in which the first permit was issued.

Source: Unpublished data, Department of Labour.

Table 2 Foreign-born population of New Zealand: the twenty largest country-of-birth groups, 2006 and 1996-2006 growth

	1996	2006	2006 rank	1996-2006 growth
United Kingdom	223,815	244,803	1	9.4%
China (including Hong Kong)	31,278	85,800	2	174.3%
Australia	54,711	62,742	3	14.7%
Samoa	42,177	50,649	4	20.1%
India	12,807	43,341	5	238.4%
South Africa	11,334	41,676	6	267.7%
Fiji	18,774	37,749	7	101.1%
Korea, Republic of	12,183	28,806	8	136.4%
Netherlands	23,430	22,101	9	-5.7%
Tonga	14,040	20,520	10	46.2%
United States of America	11,625	17,748	11	52.7%
Philippines	7,005	15,282	12	118.2%
Cook Islands	13,758	14,697	13	6.8%
Malaysia	11,889	14,547	14	22.4%
Taiwan	10,932	10,764	15	-1.5%
Germany	7,071	10,761	16	52.2%
Japan	6,501	9,573	17	47.3%
Canada	7,440	8,994	18	20.9%
Zimbabwe	1,443	8,151	19	464.9%
Sri Lanka	4,017	7,257	20	80.7%

Source: Statistics New Zealand, Census of Population and Dwellings 1996, 2006

Table 3 Estimated number of New Zealand residents of Dutch ancestry

	1 st generation ¹	2 nd generation ²	3 rd generation ³	Total
Census 1976 + Vitals 1953-1976	22,000	28,000	n.a.	50,000
Poot (1994)	26,000	41,000	n.a.	67,000
Priemus (1997)	25,000	40,000	40,000	105,000
Van der Pas & Poot, this paper	22,000 ⁴	39,500 ⁴	55,200	116,700

¹ Resident of New Zealand and born in the Netherlands or the former Dutch Indies

² Resident of New Zealand and at least one parent born in the Netherlands or the former Dutch Indies

³ Resident of New Zealand and at least one grandparent born in the Netherlands or the former Dutch Indies

⁴ Includes spouses not born in the Netherlands or the former Dutch Indies

Table 4 New Zealand resident population who can speak the Dutch language, 1996, 2001, 2006

	Census year		
	1996	2001	2006
Dutch language	27,468	26,280	26,982

Source: Statistics New Zealand, Census of Population and Dwellings 1996, 2001, 2006

Table 5 Social-demographic and personal characteristics of Dutch Kiwis versus Other ethnicities in 2006, by period of arrival

	Period of Arrival					
	1947-1966		1967-1986		1987-2006	
	Dutch Ethnicity	Other Ethnicities	Dutch Ethnicity	Other Ethnicities	Dutch Ethnicity	Other Ethnicities
Cohort-size, aged 0-14	0	0	0	0	819	89,895
Cohort-size, aged 15+	7,971	104,703	5,127	157,101	4,347	456,339
Mean age in 2006	70.5	65.7	50.6	50.2	35.1	32.5
% Tertiary qualification ^a	34.0	36.3	54.0	42.4	56.0	46.3
% No religion	22.7	20.3	41.1	26.5	46.8	27.3
% Living in a rural area	12.0	10.5	21.0	9.7	26.0	5.6
Median income level (\$) ^a	18,100	22,700	35,100	33,500	37,200	33,100
Number of children ^a						
- % Childless	6.1	10.2	17.0	18.0	37.8	39.5
- % ≥ 4 children	36.4	21.4	13.4	15.9	7.2	6.5

^aPopulation aged 15 and over

Source: Statistics New Zealand, Census of Population and Dwellings 2006

Table 6 Percentage distribution of total labour force by occupational groups: Netherlands born, New Zealand born and born in other countries, 2006

	Birthplace		
	Netherlands born	NZ born	Born in other countries ¹⁸
Legislators, administrators, managers	15.8	14.3	14.2
Professionals	17.0	13.7	17.8
Technicians and associate professionals	13.1	12.0	12.4
Clerks	8.9	11.1	10.5
Service and sales workers	11.5	13.5	13.9
Agriculture and fishery workers	9.2	7.5	3.3
Trades workers	8.3	8.8	7.3
Plant and machine operators and assemblers	4.8	7.9	6.7
Labourers and related elementary service workers	4.6	6.2	6.9
Not elsewhere included	6.7	4.9	8.0
Total	100	100	100

Source: Statistics New Zealand, Census of Population and Dwellings 2006

¹⁸ Including those born in former Dutch colonies (Indonesia, Suriname, Aruba and Netherlands Antilles.

Table 7 Percentage distribution of the total labour force by occupational groups, period of arrival and ethnicity (Dutch/Other), 2006

	Year of Arrival					
	1947-1966		1967-1986		1987-2006	
	Dutch	Other	Dutch	Other	Dutch	Other
	Ethnicities		Ethnicities		Ethnicities	
Legislators, administrators, managers	16.3	17.0	18.1	16.0	16.0	13.8
Professionals	14.7	17.8	18.6	18.3	19.7	19.0
Technicians and associate professionals	9.9	12.4	15.0	13.0	14.8	12.9
Clerks	8.1	11.9	8.4	10.8	6.7	10.8
Service and sales workers	9.3	9.8	9.1	11.3	11.8	15.7
Agriculture and fishery workers	9.0	5.3	7.8	3.3	13.0	2.8
Trades workers	12.0	7.8	10.4	8.0	6.2	6.9
Plant and machine operators and assemblers	5.6	5.9	4.5	8.1	3.9	5.9
Labourers and related elementary service workers	5.0	5.5	3.7	6.0	3.4	5.8
Not elsewhere included	10.3	6.7	4.5	5.3	4.3	6.4
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: Statistics New Zealand, Census of Population and Dwellings 2006